

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 05777 01 OF 02 281139Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01  
ACDA-07 /066 W  
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R 281130Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0089  
INFO AMCONSUL BORDEAUX  
AMCONSUL LYON  
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE  
AMCONSUL NICE  
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 05777

E.O.: 11652: GDS  
TAGS: FR, PINT, PGOV  
SUBJ: MITTERRAND: A NEW COURSE CONTINUED IN THE AMALRIK  
AFFAIR?

SUMMARY: SOCIALIST LEADER MITTERRAND'S STATEMENT OF  
UNDERSTANDING AND CONCURRENCE IN GISCARD'S HANDLING OF  
THE AMALRIK AFFAIR IS ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO APPEAR AS RE-  
SPONSIBLE AND STATESMANLIKE IN REACTIONS TO IMPORTANT  
ISSUES OF THE DAY. IT MAY ALSO PRESAGE A MORE CONCERTED  
EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE A DEGREE OF COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN  
THE TWO MEN AND AS SUCH BE TAKEN AS EVIDENCE THAT A  
SOCIALIST PRIME MINISTER AND A MAJORITY PRESIDENT COULD  
INDEED RUN THE SHIP OF STATE. SUCH A PERSPECTIVE IS  
IMPORTANT TO THE PS AS THEY FACE THE FUTURE; WITH A PS/  
PCF RUPTURE OR A PS/CENTRIST COALITION UNLIKELY, THEY  
COULD BE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR SOME FORM OF VIABLE  
LEADERSHIP.

1. MITTERRAND SUPPORTS ... GISCARD: THE "ROUGE" (FAR-  
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PAGE 02 PARIS 05777 01 OF 02 281139Z

LEFT DAILY) HEADLINE ABOVE AND THAT OF "QUOTIDIEN DE  
PARIS" ("MITTERRAND ISN'T ANY BETTER THAN GISCARD")  
SUGGESTS THAT THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF THE ANDRE AMALRIK  
AFFAIR MAY WELL BE AS SIGNIFICANT AS THE FRANCE-USSR  
ASPECT. AFTER MISSING MOST OF THIS WEEK'S ACTION WHILE  
IN TEL AVIV, PS FIRST SECRETARY MITTERRAND ANNOUNCED ON  
HIS RETURN TO PARIS FEBRUARY 24TH THAT HE UNDERSTOOD PER-

FEETLY GISCARD'S ATTITUDE, IN LIGHT OF A POSSIBLE BREZHNEV VISIT THIS YEAR AND IN THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC DEALS ON A STATE TO STATE LEVEL RATHER THAN WITH INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS. ALTHOUGH AT FIRST GLANCE AN UNUSUAL POSITION FOR THE PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN OF THE OPPOSITION, THERE ARE SEVERAL INTERESTING FACTORS INVOLVED IN MITTERRAND'S STATEMENT.

2. THE COMMON DENOMINATORS: MITTERRAND, AS OPPOSITION LEADER, AS A POTENTIAL PRIME MINISTER, AND AS A FRENCHMAN, SHARES MANY OF THE CONCERNS WHICH CONDITIONED GISCARD'S POSITION:

-- DETENTE: JUST AS VGE HOPES TO PLAY THE ELECTORAL CARD OF PEACEMAKER AND CHAMPION OF DETENTE, NOWHERE MORE VISIBLY DISPLAYED THAN IN THE POTENTIAL VISIT OF SOVIET LEADER BREZHNEV, SO DOES MITTERRAND COUNT ON CREATING A "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" WITH THE USSR THROUGH WHICH A SOCIALIST PARTY IN POWER COULD DELIVER THE GOODS OF A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD (DISARMAMENT, CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, DISBANDING OF RIVAL ALLIANCES). THIS PS HOPE SURVIVES EVEN IN THE FACE OF AN APPARENT SOVIET PREFERENCE FOR FRENCH GOVERNMENTS OF THE CENTER AND/OR RIGHT, A PURELY SHORT-TERM TACTICAL PREFERENCE IN PS EYES.

-- HUMAN RIGHTS: GISCARD, AS PRESIDENT OF A CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PARIS 05777 01 OF 02 281139Z

FREE WESTERN NATION AND AS A LIBERAL REFORMIST POLITICIAN, MUST TAKE A FIRM STAND IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, JUST AS MITTERRAND IS REQUIRED TO DO BY THE IDEOLOGICAL IMPERATIVES OF HIS OWN PARTY.

-- NON-INTERFERENCE: AS PRESIDENT, GISCARD OBVIOUSLY HAS A STRONG INTEREST IN AN EFFECTIVE APPLICATION OF THE NON-INTERFERENCE THEORY. SO DOES MITTERRAND AS POTENTIAL PRIME MINISTER. FOR BOTH MEN, AS WELL AS FOR PCF LEADER MARCHAIS, "NON-INTERFERENCE" OFFERS A CONVENIENT ESCAPE VALVE OR WAFFLING MECHANISM FOR PURSUING SUMULTANEOUSLY THE GOALS OF DETENTE AND SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

3. WHY NOW?: GIVEN THIS APPARENT CONVERGENCE OF GOALS, MITTERRAND'S SUPPORT OF GISCARD'S TACTICS IS NOT UNUSUAL, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF AMALRIK'S VIRTUAL ASSAULT ON THE

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PAGE 01 PARIS 05777 02 OF 02 281138Z  
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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 05777

ELYSEE PALACE WHICH GALVANIZED FRENCH SUPPORT FOR GIS-CARD'S "DUTY" TO DEFEND THE DIGNITY OF HIS OFFICE. THERE WERE OTHER OPTIONS, HOWEVER, WHICH WOULD HAVE ALLOWED MITTERRAND TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE FACTORS IN PARA TWO ABOVE WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY STAKING OUT A MORE POLITICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TERRAIN. FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE RECOGNIZING PUBLICLY THAT THE ISSUES OF DETENTE AND NON-INTERFERENCE REQUIRE A NUANCED, DISCREET RESPONSE, HE COULD HAVE CALLED FOR A MORE "FLEXIBLE" DIPLOMACY THAT WOULD HAVE GIVEN MORE WEIGHT TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. HE COULD HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE, WHILE CRITICIZING TACTICS. WHY DID MITTERRAND CHOOSE TO SIMPLY SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT?

4. IN SEARCH OF COMPATIBILITY: THE ANSWER MAY BE A FURTHER ILLUSTRATION OF MITTERRAND'S CONSTANT CONCERN TO MOT ONLY REASSURE THE ELECTORATE THAT HE IS BOTH RESPONSIBLE AND STATESMANLIKE, BUT ALSO TO DEMONSTRATE  
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PAGE 02 PARIS 05777 02 OF 02 281138Z

THAT HE CAN INDEED COEXIST AND EVEN WORK WITH THE CURRENT  
PRESIDENT. FOR THE PS, THIS STAND IS ANOTHER RECOGNITION  
BY THE UNION OF THE LEFT THAT TO WIN ELECTIONS IT MUST  
BE ABLE TO CONVINCE THE ELECTORATE THAT IT CAN RUN A  
GOVERNMENT. IF MITTERRAND HAS INDEED EMBARKED ON A  
COURSE OF DEMONSTRATING HIS COMPATIBILITY WITH GISCARD,  
ANOTHER AND INTERESTING DIMENSION HAS BEEN ADDED TO ONE  
OF THE SCENARIOS FOR 1978. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, TWO  
SIDES TO EVERY RELATIONSHIP, AND IN THIS COURSE OF  
EVENTS MITTERRAND MUST LOOK TO BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT.  
RUSH

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**TAGS:** PINT, PGOV, FR, (GISCARD D'ESTAING, VALERY), (MITTERRAND, FRANCOIS)  
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